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America

February 7, 1953
Vol. 88, Number 19

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WEEKLY REVIEW

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LABOR AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

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BENJAMIN L. MASSE

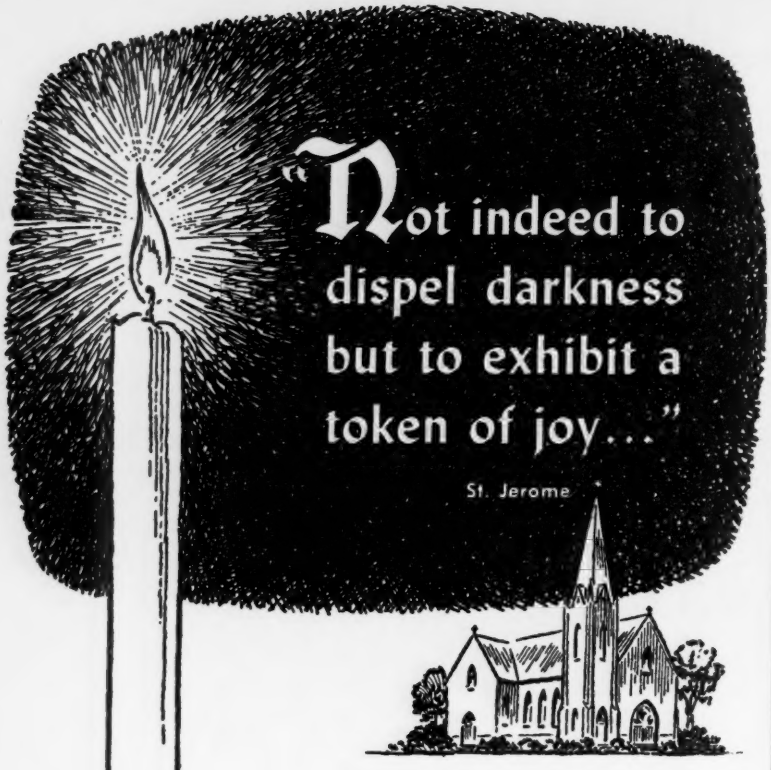
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Of publishers, profits and pocket-books

HAROLD C. GARDINER

Apostolate of public opinion
Mr. Dulles on foreign policy
Crime commission needed
Parishes and neighborhood decay

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CURRENT COMMENT

The Holy Father

Reports from Vatican City last week indicating that Pope Pius XII was ill caused no little concern. Influenza and bronchial infection forced the Holy Father to curtail his activities for some days but he is now said to be convalescing normally. The marvel is, of course, that the 76-year-old Pontiff is not overwhelmed by the crushing burdens of the office which he has been carrying since March 12, 1939. He is, in the first place, spiritual head of some 400 million Roman and 8 million Eastern Catholics at a time when many grave decisions must be made. He must preside at a seemingly endless round of exhausting public ceremonies, grant many time-consuming audiences each day, deliver lengthy and precise addresses, sign documents, study tirelessly to keep abreast of the ever-changing global picture. The enormous international issues of world war and peace are to a large extent his problems. His too is the agony of seeing 800 million souls enslaved by atheistic tyranny, the Church in chains, its prelates, priests and people imprisoned and martyred. Mindful of these heavy responsibilities and griefs of His Holiness, Catholics ought to take very seriously their duty to pray for their Holy Father, the supreme shepherd of all Christ's faithful on earth.

Conviction of 13 Reds

The conviction of 13 "second team" Communist leaders by a New York jury on January 21 raised the total of Reds found guilty of conspiracy to 44. Back in 1947 the Federal Government indicted 87 officials of the Communist party. Under the provisions of the 1940 Smith Act, it charged them with conspiracy to "teach and advocate the duty and necessity" of overthrowing the U. S. Government by force. The first trial, involving 11 "first team" Communist leaders, lasted nine months. Through the skill and untiring efforts of then U. S. District Attorney John F. X. McGohey of New York (now Federal District Judge) and the imperturbable patience of Judge Harold R. Medina, that precedent-making trial issued in conviction. This verdict was upheld by the U. S. Court of Appeals and, in a decision handed down last June, by the U. S. Supreme Court. Last May 2 six "second string" party leaders were convicted on the same charge by a jury in Baltimore, after a three-weeks trial. In Los Angeles, 14 West Coast Reds were convicted last June 5, after a six-months trial. The recent N. Y. conviction consumed nine and a half months in court and nearly seven days of deliberation by the jury. The law makes the 13 Communists subject to penalties of five years in prison and fines up to $10,000. Being found guilty of conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force has hurt the party very much. Its membership is now said to be down to 30,000. More important, it has lost ground through the weakening of front organizations, the weeding out of Communists and pro-Communists from positions of influence in government, labor unions and the entertainment professions, and the denying to Communists of access to military and diplomatic secrets. This house-cleaning promises to be carried over into wider areas. The Communist party's underground activity, we may be sure, is being stepped up and must be exposed.

New strategy for the cold war

Soviet communism, John Foster Dulles reminded the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Jan. 15, has gained control over 600 million people in the last seven years. "And it has done that," he emphasized, "by methods of political warfare, psychological warfare and propaganda; and it has not actually used the Red Army as an open aggressive force in accomplishing that. Surely what they can accomplish, we can accomplish." Later on he confided to the Senators that the establishment of a high-level board to plan the strategy for the cold war was a matter that President Eisenhower "had very much on his mind." On Jan. 26 the President showed his concern by appointing a nine-member President's Committee on International Information Activities "to survey and evaluate the Government's information and related policies and activities with particular reference to international relations and the national security." Neither the innocuous name of the committee nor its noncommittal mandate is likely to fool anyone, least of all the Russians. The "related policies and activities" may be expected to occupy the committee far more than the information activities. It is loaded with ex-intelligence officers and ex-members of the aggressive Committee for a Free Europe, which operates the free-swinging Radio Free Europe from Munich. The committee, whose report is due June 30, is sure to devote much of its time to determining just how far the Republican "liberation" policy, as a substitute for the Truman Administration's "containment" policy, can go without bringing on war with the Soviets. This involves not merely a stepped-up propaganda offensive but all those "shadow" activities which are politely called "political warfare."

Consumer voice in Congress

If Senator Gillette (R., Iowa) and twenty-four of his colleagues have their way, housewives, and consumers generally, will soon have adequate representation in Washington. The nation's consumers are today

just about the only group in the country who don't have a high-powered lobby on Capitol Hill. While a few small groups of professionals have endeavored from time to time to represent the consumer viewpoint, they have never had the finances or popular backing to make their voices heard. Senator Gillette would change all that. He wants the Senate to create a select committee, to be known as the Committee on Consumer Interests, to survey and study all consumer problems. The committee would give special attention to "prices charged the ultimate consumer for food, fuel and clothing, and the costs and methods of producing processing and distributing these and other consumer goods." Though it would have no power to originate legislation, the committee could aid Congress, by its research and findings, in preparing laws to protect consumer interests. The fact that the twenty-four Senators who are supporting Senator Gillette's proposal come from both parties suggests that its chances are good. About the only objection that can be raised to it is that it involves an extension of the old select-committee device which Congress banned several years ago for the sake of efficiency. Perhaps the duties Senator Gillette envisages for his committee could just as well be discharged by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. But that is a technical question which the Senate can decide as it pleases. The important point in these inflationary times is that there be some group in Congress specifically charged with safeguarding the interests of consumers.

Employes buy the company

Last week the employes of the Cleveland Pneumatic Tool Company, workers and managers together, bought out the owners and started to run the business for themselves. While Cleveland Pneumatic isn't U. S. Steel or Standard Oil, it isn't exactly a backyard machine shop either. Thought to be the world's largest producer of shock-absorbing landing gears for aircraft, it had at the time of the sale an order backlog of $90 million, and its outstanding stock was valued at $11.8 million. To acquire the stock, the employes had to make a down payment of $2.1 million in cash. How, the reader may inquire, did they manage to scrape together that kind of money? The answer is easy: they didn't scrape it together at all. They merely took it from their two pension funds—the Trust for Overtime-Paid Employes and the Trust for Non-Overtime Employes. Only about half the company's 2,700 employes belong to one or the other of these funds, but the rest are eligible for membership after two years of service. The new owners of the business have obligated themselves to pay off within seven years the $9.7 million still due the old stockholders, but they anticipate no great difficulty in doing so. From now on, all the company's profits will be paid into the two trust funds. Cleveland Pneumatic is not the first company which has passed from the hands of its owners to the hands of its employes, and it certainly won't be the last one. With the growth of private pension funds, the phenomenon may become so common as scarcely to be news. It is an altogether healthy phenomenon—one that Karl Marx never predicted, incidentally, and one that Mr. Stalin, waiting patiently for the collapse of capitalism, might profitably ponder.

Taft's amendments to T-H

The sixteen amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act which Senator Taft introduced on Jan. 26 fall short of a real overhaul of the 1947 law. In most respects, however, the amendments would improve his legislative brain-child and make it less obnoxious to unions. In the matter of the non-Communist oath, for instance, the Senator agrees that employers as well as labor leaders should proclaim their loyalty to the country as a condition for enjoying the services of the National Labor Relations Board. He is also willing to place management on the same footing as labor in the matter of injunctions against secondary boycotts. Under the law as it stands now, the Board is obliged to drop everything and hustle to court for an injunction anytime a union is accused of engaging in a boycott. Senator Taft would direct the Board to be less precipitate, to consider first whether the employer has been doing a little boycotting on his own. Though the Senator remains persuaded that the clause in the Act barring replaced strikers from participating in a representation election is not a potential union-busting device, he has deferred to President Eisenhower's belief that it is. One of the Senator's amendments makes replaced strikers equally eligible with their successors to vote in representation elections. Another amendment stipulates that in the construction industry unions may make union-shop contracts with employers *before work on the job begins.* The union shop is strengthened in another way, too. The Senator would permit unions to oust Communists and demand that employers fire them, even though the Communists are willing to pay union dues. Such changes are not earth-shaking. As we have repeatedly explained ever since the Taft-Hartley Act was first proposed, we believe it has fundamental defects which call for a fresh approach. In so far as the Taft amendments remedy some of the shortcomings in the law, we naturally welcome them as interim improvements.

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The National Book Awards

Though not the most venerable affair of their kind, the National Book Awards, now in their fourth year, are probably the most representative of public taste and opinion. The entire book industry sponsors the awards—the American Book Publishers Council, the American Booksellers Association and the Book Manufacturers Institute. Four thousand polling cards were sent to booksellers, publishers, book manufacturers and librarians. They were asked to nominate 1952's best books of fiction, nonfiction and poetry. Finally, five judges in each field chose the prize winners, which were announced at a ceremony in New York's Commodore Hotel on Jan. 28. The fiction award went to Ralph Ellison for *Invisible Man*, the nonfiction prize to Bernard DeVoto for *The Course of Empire* and the poetry laurel to Archibald MacLeish for his *Collected Poems, 1917-1952*. All in all, these are good awards and a distinct improvement over past years. Last year the fiction prize went to *From Here to Eternity*. Our review of *Invisible Man* (May 3, 1952) said in part:

> [This story of] the age-old dilemma of the Negro in America . . . is an indictment of the white man's world and rings throughout with the angry voice of a sensitive, intelligent Negro attempting to chart his course in a hostile society. Though it has little to say that is constructive . . . as one man's case history it is impressive and eloquent.

Of *The Course of Empire* our review (Jan. 3, 1953) remarked:

> [In] DeVoto's latest study of the westward progress of the United States . . . he has exploited a great amount of source material and made many new evaluations . . . The book, while a comprehensive survey of the subject, lacks some of the . . . original qualities of the author's earlier studies.

While it seems doubtful that either reviewer would have nominated his book for the most prominent literary award of the year, each might join with us in congratulating the judges for having trained their sights higher than last year.

Segregation in Washington

With the narrowly legal aspects of the Jan. 22 decision of the U. S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C.—that restaurants in that city might lawfully refuse to serve Negroes—we are less concerned than we are with its broader effects. The decision furnishes one more demonstration of the gap between democratic theory and democratic practice in this country. The court held that anti-discrimination laws passed in 1872 and 1873 by the Legislative Assembly which then governed the District had been repealed by the codification of 1901, and in any case exceeded the powers of the assembly. In a dissenting opinion, Judge Charles Fahy attacked the majority contention that the municipal authorities, in trying to revive the laws in question, were flying "in face of a custom of race dissociation in the District." Current custom, said Judge Fahy, "has not moved away from equal treatment, leaving these regulations derelicts of the past." He instanced antidiscrimination developments "in Government, in the armed services . . . in educational institutions, in the theatre . . ." Indeed, our national capital has been moving in the direction of racial equality. The National Theatre, formerly closed to Negroes, now admits them. The once sacrosanct Constitution Hall of the DAR will be open to Negro artists. And the Catholic schools of the District accept whites and Negroes on an equal basis. The public schools may yet follow suit, since they are involved in one of the five cases on segregation argued before the U. S. Supreme Court Dec. 9-11, 1952, upon which the court has yet to pronounce. A straw in the wind was the recent invitation issued by Supt. H. M. Corning and the District Board of Education to community leaders to discuss ways and means of ending segregation in the public schools if the court should so order.

. . . and a pledge of good faith

Six days before the Court of Appeals decision, Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon, recently "demoted" to the District of Columbia Committee, declared that "discrimination in the nation's capital is a national disgrace." He therefore introduced a bill to end it. He buttressed his arguments against segregation by direct quotations from President Eisenhower's campaign speeches. In Wheeling, W. Va., Sept. 24, 1952, Mr. Eisenhower said flatly: "Segregation in the nation's capital must be abolished." He made similar statements in Chicago (Sept. 5), Los Angeles (Oct. 9) and Harlem (Oct. 25). Senator Morse added words from the Republican platform pledging the party's devotion to the rights of minorities: "We will prove our good faith by . . . appropriate action to end segregation in the District of Columbia." The nation's honor as well as the Republican party's is involved in that pledge.

Church-State relations in Mexico

For the past dozen years a popular opinion has steadily developed in Mexico which would seek an end to the once bitter conflict between Church and State in that country. With the Government's unspoken consent, many of the principal anticlerical laws had ceased to be observed. Churches, for example, were again allowed to own property and build new places of worship. Church authorities have steadfastly counseled patience, seeking rather a *modus vivendi* than any premature attempts at legislative reform. The closing sessions of Mexico's first Congress of Catholic Culture, however, established on January 23 a permanent commission to press for the elimination of the last vestiges of the anticlerical laws. These laws were particularly irksome in the field of education. The Government's action in forbidding the Church to participate in education was described as a "dictatorship" and as "equivalent to leaving Western civilization unarmed." That the new commission will enjoy the backing of the younger generation would appear certain from the ringing language of a "Message to Mexican Youth" adopted last September at a meeting

in Guadalajara of the National Student Confederation. In strong contrast to the radical anticlericalism which dominated the Confederation at its origin in 1917, the message demanded reform of those constitutional provisions "which exclude the name of God and the moral teachings of Christianity from the schools." It deplored the "sectarian and antireligious passions of the past century" and insisted upon a return to the "real essence of Mexican culture." U. S. officials engaged in promoting educational projects in Mexico should recognize this new trend and adapt their policies to it.

Mindszenty not forgotten

Four years have now passed since the infamous trial and condemnation of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, carried out by the Communist regime of Hungary Feb. 3-8, 1949, upon orders from Moscow. The heroic Primate is still in prison, in a place unknown, unvisited by friends, broken in body if not in mind. The prayers of all Christians are with him. Cardinal Mindszenty was charged with "treason," "espionage," "black-marketing" and various "crimes" now become familiar Communist themes. But in the eyes of world opinion it was the Communist system itself that was on trial. For it was revealed in the Mindszenty case as seeking not simply to dominate the material life of men but even to tyrannize over their very minds and souls, and that without scruple as to choice of means. The free world has learned from that experience that, for the Communists, no lies are so great, no forgeries so blatant, no calumnies so bitter that they will not be used to further wicked ends. Mindszenty's fellow-prisoner of communism, the now Cardinal Stepinac of Yugoslavia, did not have to undergo the same physical manhandling but he has been, and continues to be, the object of the same technique of slander. For Tito has learned nearly all he knows from Moscow. When he left the Kremlin's camp he took with him the Kremlin's own black bag of cynical tricks. Now, as he finds himself impaled on his own antireligious policies, he seeks to escape by blackening the reputation of his chief adversary. But the lessons of four years ago have not been so soon forgotten by the free world.

Red Cross failure in North Korea

An illuminating sidelight on the reasons why the Panmunjom Korean truce negotiations ended in failure is provided by the experience of the International Committee of the Red Cross. The Geneva institution has just published its correspondence with the Sino-Koreans during the first half of 1952. It is a story of patient perseverance in the face of stubborn silence, obstructionism and abuse. Although the Communists have recognized the Geneva Conventions of 1949, they have refused to admit a Red Cross representative on their territory or even to enter into discussions with a view to admitting one. When the chief Far Eastern delegate of the Red Cross, Dr. Otto Lehner, was able at long last to present its request in person at Panmunjom on January 17, 1952, the refusal was accompanied by torrents of personal attacks over Radio Pekin. The help the committee has been able to give POW's held by the enemy has therefore been virtually nil. Meanwhile the Reds have been able to make political capital of the committee's criticisms of the UN camps on Koje Island. And the national Red Cross societies of Hungary, Rumania, Poland and Bulgaria have not let their pretended distrust of the Geneva organization prevent them from protesting to it, in the name of humanity, against the alleged use by the UN forces of bacteriological warfare. The International Committee of the Red Cross is persisting in its efforts to gain access to the UN POW's. For their sake, we earnestly pray for its success. If any doubts remain that the collapse of the Panmunjom truce talks was due to Communist bad faith, the stubborn rebuff by the Reds of such a well-established neutral, nonpolitical humanitarian agency should remove them.

Malan asks for total powers

Premier Daniel F. Malan of South Africa has announced that there is an "emergency" in that country, and on Jan. 27 asked the Parliament to give the Government dictatorial powers to cope with it. If the existence of an emergency surprised anyone, it should not have been Dr. Malan, for his reckless campaign of racial discrimination is chiefly what produced it. His present bill proposes that regulations issued by the Government may "suspend in whole or in part any act of Parliament or any other law." (Laws concerning military service, Parliament and its members, and matters under the Industrial Conciliation Act would not be subject to such suspension. Behind Dr. Malan and his Nationalist party stands a secret society, the Broederbond. Founded in 1918, the Broederbond is dedicated to the idea that the Afrikaners, *i.e.*, those of Boer-Dutch stock, are the divinely designated rulers of South Africa, as against both the native inhabitants and South Africans of British stock. It aims at setting up a republic, outside the British Commonwealth, and establishing what it terms a "Christian-national" state. Its whole tone is Hitlerian. Though it went underground in 1921, eight Cabinet members belong to it, and Government policy is made in Broederbond meetings before it is announced in Parliament. The pattern seems familiar. The Nazi party provoked crisis after crisis in the German Government, until dictatorial powers seemed necessary to deal with the "emergency." That was the beginning of the end of freedom in Germany.

. . . all the world wonders

How far will the parallel go? The northern lands of Africa are free or are moving toward freedom at varying speeds. Dr. Malan wants to counter this with a powerful state in the south dedicated to keeping the natives, and everybody except Christian Nationalists, in their place. Like Hitler, he may soon look around for allies and make a devil's bargain.

WASHINGTON FRONT

Here is a true story which illustrates the difficulties of a businessman in the business end of the Government. Back in the War Mobilization Board days, after Korea, under the "other" Charles E. Wilson (GE, not GM), the vice president of a large manufacturing company in the Midwest was brought in to govern the allocation of priorities in raw materials in his line. Before taking office, following law and propriety, he had divested himself of ownership, management and directorship in his company.

After being in office a few weeks, he was faced with a severe case of conscience, which was brought me from him unofficially by a third party. I asked, was he tempted to favor his old company in priorities? Not at all; just the opposite. He had found himself leaning backward by discriminating *against* that company, lest anyone say the Government was favoring it, and even against that company's suppliers. Result: he had lost most of his personal friends in the process.

Question: Was he justified in doing what he did?

Answer: No; he was guilty of as much injustice by discrimination on one side as on the other. He should keep an even-handed, objective balance as between all companies, each on the merits of its case.

The reply: Fine, theoretically. But in practice, just try to walk an even line like that. It can't be done. He had chosen the "safer" course, safer both for his reputation and for the Government.

That poses difficult alternatives. I do not think this ex-businessman was more high-minded than his fellows, or that the present crop of businessmen under Eisenhower would be less high-minded, especially at the top level. But the reply given above shows implicitly that he always felt the "pull" in favor of his friends; he reacted to it by being "safe." The law, as it hit Charles E. ("GM") Wilson, for instance, is admittedly cynical. It supposes that anybody might be tempted to favor his own interests as against the country's and so it makes a crime of even *dealing* with those interests when in Government.

In a way, it was a "break" for Mr. Eisenhower that he never did have the famed "honeymoon" that the papers always talk about. In my opinion and that of many others, the political atmosphere in Washington before, during and after the Inauguration was about as poisonous as we have ever seen it. But the whole war experience of the President shows that he is at his best when the going is toughest. He now knows just how tough it is and can be counted on to meet it ably.

Paradoxically, the most hatred for him lies in his own party, the most sympathy among the Democrats. He may yet put across most of his program with the help of the latter, especially in foreign affairs.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

The Boston Institute on National Immigration Policy, a project jointly sponsored by the Archdiocese of Boston and Boston College, will hold a series of public meetings in John Hancock Hall in that city, Feb. 6-8, with the purpose of clearing away "the clouded atmosphere that surrounds so much discussion of the McCarran-Walter Act." Speakers, clerical and lay, with backgrounds in sociology, law, immigration and relief and refugee work, will discuss various phases of immigration policy. Part of the program will be the awarding of prizes in an essay contest held in the schools of the archdiocese.

► As a result of modifications made by the 1951 California legislature in the State's law for sterilization of the insane and mentally deficient, the annual number of sterilizations dropped in 1952 from a previous 250-300 to 51. The original law was passed in 1937. In AMERICA for Oct. 6, 1945, Rev. Joseph Vaughan, S.J., showed that, quite apart from its intrinsic immorality, the law was loosely drafted and badly lacking in safeguards of personal rights.

► The Paulist Feature Service celebrates this year its fifth anniversary. Operated by Paulist seminarians out of St. Paul's Seminary, Washington, D. C., it supplies a free weekly feature of 400 words in mat, mimeograph or offset form to over 300 U. S. newspapers with a total readership of 3 million. Its object: to combat materialism, eliminate intolerance, instill good citizenship based on spiritual principles—and prepare people to receive the faith. The service depends upon donations from friends to cover its heavy operating expenses.

► The *Sentinel*, national Catholic paper in the Philippines, has come to the defense of a U. S. Mutual Security Agency report on land tenure in the Islands which had been attacked by President Elpidio Quirino and prominent politicians, and had been denounced by some critics as Communist-inspired. The report, drawn up in December, 1952, was very critical of the inequities of land distribution in the Philippines, and of the Government's land policies. Among other things, it indicated that 51 per cent of Filipino farmers work farms of less than five acres. The Communist-inspired Huk rebellion, said the *Sentinel*, could not have occurred unless the condition of people "was such that they were willing to gamble their lives for any promise of betterment."

► The Norwegian Government has asked the Parliament for repeal of an article in the Constitution which bans the Society of Jesus from that country, says a Jan. 20 Religious News Service dispatch from Oslo. The history and present status of this ban were discussed in AMERICA, Dec. 15, 1952, by Rev. Peter Lowry, of St. Olaf's parish in Oslo. C. K.

EDITORIALS

Public opinion as an apostolate

During Catholic Press Month, which is observed every year throughout the month of February, our thoughts turn to the role the Catholic press is expected to play in the life of the Church and of the nation. As a matter of fact, the Catholic press is only one of the media concerned with what has been called "the apostolate of public opinion."

What do we mean by "public opinion"? The term is often used to mean only the views people take on great public issues. In a broader sense, however, public opinion includes all the attitudes and convictions people have concerning what is good and true, what is worth while, in human living.

The media through which these attitudes and convictions are shaped embrace just about every channel for the communication of ideas: the home, the school, the church, the theatre, films, the press, radio, TV and every sort of lecture, discussion and meeting. They also include such informal media as example, conversation and letter-writing.

The importance of these media in the shaping of public opinion can hardly be exaggerated. Many—perhaps even most—Americans seem to piece together from what they learn through them a sort of "operational" or working philosophy of life. Even a philosophy of life acquired by formal initiation into the truths of religion and philosophy is colored, sometimes almost beyond recognition, through the sum-total of a person's later "experience." This experience consists, to no small extent, of what he learns, formally and informally, through the many media of communication.

Cardinal Newman once referred to ideas which settle upon the mind imperceptibly, like particles of dust. This certainly happens: we are all influenced, one way or another, by the "climate of opinion" of the society, or segment of society, in which we live. Such "social conditioning," of course, exercises a maximum influence upon people who grow up without any solidly grounded set of religious and moral beliefs. But it would be a mistake to minimize the effect of environment even on those who receive religious and moral instruction. One reason why the Church keeps insisting on the establishment of a truly Christian social order is that she realizes how powerfully we are all affected by the social environment in which we live.

The next question is whether the news and views we absorb in these ways help or hinder the moral and religious truths which we, as Catholics, know to be true. Does "the American way" measure up, in all respects, to "God's way"? There is a strong tendency among some Catholics to identify the two. In the eyes of European Catholics (not to speak of non-Christian Asiatics), however, "the American way" seems to be very secular and even very materialistic.

In any case, no one can deny that purely temporal interests in our society have at their command the vast apparatus of mass communications which modern science has made possible. By and large, these media are commercial enterprises. It would be nothing short of miraculous if the great business concerns which spend hundreds of millions of dollars on advertising every year were more eager to spread the gospel than to sell motor cars, clothes, cigarettes, razors and beer. We know they are not. Their chief aim is to attract attention through pleasing people, not instructing them, at least in religion and morality.

As a result, man's moral and religious interests are seriously disadvantaged in competition with his secular and material interests. This situation pretty well defines the role of the Catholic press in the United States. That role is to try to right the balance by putting all human interests in proper perspective. Religion and morality must be kept paramount. They provide the standards by which men must regulate the whole of their lives. For it is only through adherence to moral and religious truths that men can fulfil the purpose Almighty God had in creating them.

The apostolate of public opinion, of course, far outreaches the scope of the Catholic press. It extends to the secular press and to all other media of communication.

What can the ordinary person do to engage in this apostolate? He can engage in it in very simple ways—through conversation and personal letters, for example. He can give or send timely articles in Catholic periodicals to people whose business lies in shaping public opinion. He can write brief, well-informed letters-to-the-editor on moral and religious topics. Provided he has the will to act, he can find many little, yet effective, ways to carry on this apostolate.

He must have information, of course—especially on the religious and moral import of current events and situations. The main purpose of the Catholic press, one might say, is to provide such information. What the Catholic press needs is more people who read it for the purpose of putting to apostolic use what they read. Catholic Press Month is a good time to start engaging in the apostolate of public opinion, or to engage in it more actively, in these and similar ways.

The need for such an apostolate could not be more urgent. Atheistic materialism is crusading to conquer the world for Marxism. Capitalistic materialism cannot stem this tide. As President Eisenhower and former President Truman have frequently declared, we must build up our religious strength to win.

Secretary Dulles on our present danger

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' maiden radio-TV broadcast on January 27 was so significant in content and so excellent in execution that it seemed a pity that only one network (CBS) carried it.

This was a masterpiece of exposition. Mr. Dulles achieved the simplicity, the clarity, the directness and the self-projection which mark the master in the art of communication. Aided by a daring degree of colloquialism, he early made and continued to keep contact with his audience. This might have been just a *tour de force*, but it aroused our hope that the heretofore unsolved problem of making foreign policy not only intelligible but interesting to the man in the street is at last on the way to solution.

The deftness with which Mr. Dulles directed warnings and assurances to friend and foe alike, while ostensibly conducting his audience on a tour of the danger spots rimming the free world, was admirable.

His repeated references to the Soviet regime as "our enemies," plotting our destruction, may make future negotiations more difficult. They served notice on the Stalinists that the new Administration, like the old, views them with a coldly realistic eye.

Just as realistic were Mr. Dulles' remarks about the "somewhat stalled" European Defense Community. The Truman Administration was severely criticized for not developing an alternative plan for making a place for a rearmed Germany in the defense plans of NATO in case France refused to include German units in a single six-nation army. Thereby, the critics argued, the United States deprived itself of an essential bargaining point. We share the view that the warning expressed by Mr. Dulles as he prepared to "look the situation over" personally was well-conceived and well-timed. It was contained in this carefully phrased sentence:

> If, however, there were no chance, and that I just refuse to believe, but if it appeared there were no chance of getting effective unity, and if, in particular, France, Germany and England should go their separate ways, then certainly it would be necessary to give a little rethinking to America's own foreign policy in relation to Western Europe.

That warning must be causing some "rethinking" in the chancelleries of our European friends. Prime Minister Churchill must be wondering why Mr. Dulles mentioned England in the context of a discussion of the European army. The French must be wondering about the wisdom of continuing to up the price of participation in EDC.

Mr. Dulles was at his diplomatic best in his graceful reference to the Latin-American republics, whose "traditional friendship" he saw endangered by the periodic neglect of the Truman Administration. No less diplomatic was his promise to the Congress that he intended to make no commitments on his trip.

Mr. Dulles was less happy in the expression of his controversial "policy of liberation." Proud peoples like the Balts and the other freedom-loving victims of Communist tyranny can hardly be expected to appreciate his patronizing assertion that the positive purpose of our foreign policy

> must be to *create* in other peoples such a love and respect for freedom that they can never really be absorbed by the despotism, the totalitarian dictatorship of the Communist world (emphasis added).

In justice to Mr. Dulles, we note that he declared later that "a great deal can be done to make these captive peoples *retain* such a love of freedom . . ." Extreme care is needed in references to the nerve-wracked captives of the Kremlin.

The same care is called for in defining the nature and fruits of freedom. We can imagine the dismay of the millions who have come to consider Mr. Dulles the most spiritual-minded of freedom's exponents when they learned that he considered that the success of our foreign policy would

> largely depend upon the demonstration you make as to the value and productivity of liberty. You must work hard enough at whatever your task is to show that freedom is more productive than slavery. You must be resourceful and inventive enough so that our instruments of peace and, if need be, war, are better than any that can be invented by the despots and their captives.

In the proper context, there is truth in such an exhortation, of course. Still, the criterion invoked is mechanistic. We are not trying to "sell" a productive system, but a spiritual way of life.

Permanent watchdog on crime

Considerable merit attaches to a recommendation made recently to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey by the New York State Crime Commission advocating the establishment of a permanent State board for the investigation of organized crime and its links with corrupt politicians.

The commission, a temporary four-man board established in 1951 and headed by Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, bases its proposal on the findings of its probe into crime and lax law-enforcement both in New York City and in scattered communities upstate. Since the State commission's investigation confirmed the existence of a pattern of crime and corruption on which the Kefauver Committee focused national attention nearly two years ago, the proposal to set up a permanent investigating board will elicit wide interest.

The commission underscored three basic causes of the scandalous conditions it had uncovered. Organized gangsters sometimes corrupt law-enforcement officials by direct money bribes. This bribe-money comes from the illicit operations themselves; the payoffs to conniving authorities are considered simply part of the operational overhead for a racket. Sometimes political deals, usually involving financial gains, form the main

consideration in the payoffs. Finally, personal friendship between the civil authorities and criminals sometimes cools the official's zeal for law-enforcement.

Any reform measures, the commission holds, must preserve the principles of local autonomy. Moreover, they must have more permanence than is afforded by temporary *ad hoc* agencies. Experience shows that dramatic "clean-ups" are superficial and their results short-lived. The true remedy, in the judgment of the SCC, is a permanent "watchdog" board in the Executive Department of the State administration.

Specific recommendations regarding both the personnel of the proposed new commission and the powers it should be granted were also included.

At the top, there would be three commissioners, at least one of whom would be a member of the bar. These men would be appointed by the Governor, and would be authorized to select permanent counsel to work under their direction. Salary and term of office for the commissioners would be such as to attract men of high caliber and assure them of political independence.

The commissioners would be empowered to employ a legal staff, trained investigators, accountants and clerical help as the need arose. This personnel would be independent of the civil-service laws.

The powers which Judge Proskauer and his colleagues propose for the board are wide: to subpoena witnesses, to conduct private investigations and examinations and, on the direction of the Governor, to hold public hearings. It would also be authorized to compel district attorneys as well as local police officials to file specified reports on their efforts to enforce criminal laws in their respective jurisdictions.

According to the plan, the proposed commission would serve six very significant purposes: 1) aid the Governor in his enforcement of State laws; 2) deter dishonesty and inefficiency in public officials; 3) help the heads of the various State departments and agencies in investigations of their respective organizations; 4) aid the Governor in formulating recommendations to the legislature; 5) advise and cooperate with local law-enforcement officials; and 6) keep the public alert to the problem of law-enforcement.

Objection has been raised against the plan of the New York panel—for example, that in time the new Commission of Investigation might itself grow lax, and that in the hands of an unscrupulous State administration the commission could be used to harass the opposition party.

Like objection could be raised against any agency which consists of human beings and against the grant of investigatory powers to any group. And no one is so naive as to expect that any device as simple as setting up a commission will abolish crime. But if it is set up and implemented in the spirit of those who planned it, this commission should go far toward fulfilling its purpose of remedying the undeniable weaknesses in present law-enforcement machinery.

Neighborhood and parish

The "blighted neighborhood," an increasingly frequent phenomenon in our larger American cities, is well described by James C. Downs Jr. in his article "Neighborhood decay: causes and cure," the second part of which appears in this issue. The first part appeared last week. Mr. Downs calls the decay of such neighborhoods, and the physical and moral evils arising therefrom "a challenge to the Church."

The challenge, we are glad to say, has not been ignored. Mr. Downs' article is based on an address he gave last November to a gathering of some 120 Chicago pastors meeting at the invitation of Cardinal Stritch, Archbishop of Chicago, to discuss the role of the parishes in meeting the blight problem. Mr. Downs had also taken part in a meeting on the same topic in Cleveland in September as well as in one held in Detroit in September, 1951. The conclusions of the Detroit conference are contained in a 16-page brochure published by the National Conference of Catholic Charities (1346 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.).

The conference saw a pressing necessity for the individual pastor "to become interested in, aware of and involved with an attack on his city's over-all problems of blight and conservation." Though some might question the propriety of a priest's taking part in such programs, the conference felt that

> in view of the Church's basic interests in preserving and strengthening family life as the foundation of our society and civilization, and in view of the damage to family life resulting from inadequate housing and deteriorating neighborhoods, both the need and justification for participating were direct and immediate.

The conference also pointed out the need for "joining with other groups and denominations in attacking the problem," since it is too big for Catholics to be able to cope with it by themselves.

In a changing neighborhood, the parish is in a key position to help newcomers and older residents to get to know each other and to learn to be good neighbors. Through the parish census, the pastor can become acquainted with Catholics who move in, and can assure them of a ready welcome in his church. He can invite them to join his parish societies—the Holy Name, Altar Society, St. Vincent de Paul, etc. Through these societies he can develop leadership among the new parishioners. This is often a necessary operation, since newcomers to an area, especially if they belong to a minority group, may need training in leadership and civic participation.

The pastor can, moreover, encourage his parishioners to take part in the work of neighborhood councils, which have proved an excellent means both of helping to preserve a neighborhood and bringing the various groups in it to know and respect each other.

If neighborhood blight is a challenge to the parish, the parish is basically well equipped to meet the challenge.

Labor under the new Administration

Benjamin L. Masse

On Feb. 2 the powerful AFL executive council convened at Miami Beach for its annual midwinter meeting. The public will follow its deliberations with more than ordinary interest, for reasons which Fr. Masse, AMERICA's *industrial-relations editor, explains here. High on the agenda is the AFL's stand on the autonomy of its affiliates, a topic given fresh urgency by the crime investigation in New York.*

ON LEAVING the Labor Department, former Secretary Maurice J. Tobin warned organized labor that it had to face the future with a "great deal of uncertainty." He predicted a period of stress and struggle if the anti-labor elements in the Republican party prevailed. But he did not think that the reactionaries would necessarily prevail. Recalling that the new President had pledged during the campaign to be fair to labor, the Secretary was hopeful that the years immediately ahead might prove to be constructive ones for unions and for industrial relations generally.

On the morrow of the election, there was, beyond doubt, a "great deal of uncertainty" in labor circles. Almost to a man union leaders had opposed President Eisenhower and campaigned for his opponent. As never before in the history of the modern American labor movement, they had tied the union kite to a political party—only to see that party soundly beaten. Realists by the nature of their profession, and hard-bitten politically, they knew as well as the next man that "to the victor belong the spoils." As losers they could expect from the Eisenhower Administration exactly nothing.

Then, to make matters worse, the two top leaders of labor, Philip Murray of the CIO and William Green of the AFL, died in quick succession. To a greater extent even than the defeat of Governor Stevenson, the loss of these men signaled to the world of labor the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. The future was indeed uncertain.

As the weeks followed one another, however, and the business of licking wounds and trading post-mortems had about run its course, the clouds lifted somewhat and, surprisingly, disclosed a landscape that was not altogether unfamiliar. Both AFL and CIO moved quickly to choose capable successors to Green and Murray. While there was some concern that Walter Reuther might not be able, at least in the beginning, to fill Murray's shoes, it was quickly apparent that the AFL, with George Meany at the helm, was better equipped to deal with an uncertain future than it would have been had Green lived to see the Republicans in the White House. Though labor had taken a political beating, it had emerged from the election with its organizations intact and unified. And had not Sam Gompers always said that the strength of labor lay not in the promises of politicians but in its own strong right arm?

There were other signs that life under the Republicans might turn out to be more tolerable than had at first seemed possible. The reaction of the business world to the November 4 landslide was more far-sighted and statesmanlike than labor leaders expected. No unionist would have been surprised if business had demanded of the Eisenhower Administration, not only a friendlier atmosphere in Washington, but more tangible rewards in the form of laws that would strengthen its hand in dealing with labor. After talking for five years about booby traps in the Taft-Hartley Act, and warning their followers that under a hostile Administration business could use that law to destroy unions, labor leaders were conditioned to believe the worst.

The dominant business reaction to the election came, then, as a complete and most welcome surprise. Whether that reaction was due to a realistic appraisal of the election, which indicated that it had been more a personal triumph for General Eisenhower than a victory for the Republican party, or whether it could be attributed to a genuine change of heart in the business community, was not for the moment important. What was important to labor morale was that business leaders were telling their followers that the election was not a triumph but a challenge, and that unless they met the challenge, they would find themselves, come the next election, once more out of power and with small hope of ever again getting back in.

So labor knew that, though bargaining sessions would generally be tougher, and here and there die-hard employers would essay a little old-fashioned union-busting, there was to be no widespread business vendetta against unions.

Then came the Durkin appointment, which was at least as big a surprise to labor leaders as it was to Senator Taft. By naming a high AFL official Secretary of Labor, General Eisenhower seemed to be serving notice on extremists in business and in Congress that the new Administration would not countenance an open season on trade unions. More than that, he seemed to be saying that so far as in him lay he would strive to promote better relations between labor and management, and that anyone who had a constructive idea to suggest would always find a welcome at the White House.

That left the door wide open to the leaders of labor, and they promptly marched in. The climax to the peace overtures came when the AFL solemnly announced that it did not consider itself a part of the loyal opposition to the Eisenhower Administration.

That is where matters stand as of now. Not all of labor's feeling of uncertainty is gone, but former Secretary Tobin's prediction that the future might not

be so gloomy as union leaders anticipated has to a considerable extent already come true. According to recent reports from Washington, the new chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, H. Alexander Smith, has been huddling with representatives of the AFL and CIO, discussing in a friendly way revisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. The skies have indeed grown a lot brighter for labor since last November 4.

All this may be, of course, only a part of the honeymoon period—the era of good feeling that traditionally is ushered in with every new Administration. It may not last out the year. Because some labor leaders are well aware of this, they are continuing to insist on the urgent need of overhauling the labor movement and making it shipshape for any storm that may be lurking over the horizon. They are acutely aware that after more than a decade of relatively easy living, the labor movement has grown flabby in spots and is far from invulnerable to business attacks or hostile legislation. Though grateful for the friendly initiatives of the Eisenhower Administration, they have no intention of putting all their eggs in any political basket.



However surprising it may seem to the lay mind, these men do not place AFL-CIO unity very high on the agenda. As one of them explained to the writer, the AFL and CIO can be counted on to react in exactly the same way to any attack on organized labor, so that from the standpoint of survival in an unfriendly environment, physical unity would not add notably to the security they now enjoy through their moral unity.

Furthermore, even if an amalgamation were desirable, these labor leaders do not regard it as possible in anything like the near future. They do not doubt that George Meany and Walter Reuther would step aside, as they have publicly promised to do, if such a sacrifice were a necessary preliminary to an AFL-CIO marriage. But they feel that the factors which have up till now doomed all attempts at unity remain so compelling that the time for a new effort has not yet come. From the unity talks scheduled for this month, they expect very little.

Much more important, to their way of thinking, is a determined drive both to consolidate what labor holds and to reach out at the same time for new members.

The need for consolidation is evident. There must be several million men and women carrying union cards who are trade unionists in name only. Of the history of the labor movement in this country they know little or nothing and they have never really caught its spirit. As a consequence their loyalty to the union as an institution is doubtful, and in a period of adversity they might start retrenching by dropping their union dues. A great job of education remains to be done among these half-formed unionists, a job that wasn't done during the high-tide of labor prosperity because there was no time for it, or because it did not seem necessary.

The labor leaders of whom I speak are convinced that to postpone longer the education of the rank and file might be disastrous. While they do not anticipate that union membership will ever again melt away as it did after the first World War and during the depression, they suspect that a blast of adversity might lead to considerable shrinkage.

Just as the need to consolidate seems imperative to them, so does the need to reach out and expand. No living movement can stand perfectly still. If it doesn't go forward, it is bound to slip backward. Trained in the old school, these men are fearful of the future of a labor movement which shows no zest for one of the main objectives of every union movement—the organizing of the unorganized.

Nor are consolidation and expansion enough. There has to be some purging, too. To face whatever the future may bring, these leaders argue, labor must resolutely cut off the diseased members who have become, now more than ever, a heavy liability. For this reason there has been some criticism, within the family, of the official AFL reaction to the malodorous revelations of corruption on the New York docks. One powerful AFL leader has said privately that George Meany missed a wonderful chance to break with the deadening past when he addressed the Press Club last December in Washington.

On that occasion, Mr. Meany made it clear that he was against sin—and no one who knows him doubts that in the least—but when the chips were down, he took refuge, as Bill Green did before him, in the sterile excuse that neither the president of the AFL nor the executive council has any authority to discipline an autonomous affiliate by suspending it or lifting its charter. Only a national convention has that supreme power. Furthermore, Mr. Meany cannot afford to get too far out on a limb. His appointment as president must yet be affirmed by the next AFL convention.

Mr. Meany's friendly critic was also aware of these limitations on AFL leadership, but he felt nevertheless that if the AFL leader had boldly conceded that the old appeal to autonomy was outdated and had lost its force, and that some changes in the AFL constitution were urgently needed, the AFL executive council would have been driven by public opinion to go along. Such a pronouncement would have rated headlines in the capitalist press. It would have disassociated honest trade unionism from the crooked, criminal-infested, parasitic International Longshoremen's Association. It would have convinced skeptics that the AFL had come of age and was prepared to assume responsibility commensurate with its power and position in the community.

Finally, any real tightening of the lines must include further action to eliminate the evil of jurisdictional

stoppages. Under the threat of the Taft-Hartley Act, the AFL has made some praiseworthy progress in settling these disputes peacefully, but the progress has been too little, and may be too late. The leaders of whom I speak know that the number of jurisdictional strikes during the past year on atomic energy installations has been disgraceful, and they appreciate how much the AFL would suffer in the public esteem should some congressional committee dig around in the mess.

Were organized labor to adopt this kind of program, it would not need to fear the future. As time goes on it may be obliged to reconsider the question of AFL-CIO unity. Already there are indications that the brain-trusters around President Eisenhower, with an eye on 1954 and 1956, intend to widen the basis of his following by weaning away from the Democratic party some of its labor and liberal support. Should this strategy take the form of widening the split between AFL and CIO, labor might in self-defense be obliged to amalgamate. Pending that development, a program of internal reform, plus an intensive organizing effort, will put labor in good shape to cope with whatever the future holds.

Neighborhood decay: its causes and cure (II)

James C. Downs Jr.

(Continued from last week)

IN LAST WEEK'S ARTICLE I outlined some reasons for the American phenomenon of neighborhood deterioration: 1) exceptional growth of urban areas, due to mass migration; 2) rising living standards; 3) revolution in social selectivity and mass migration; 4) shift in the trends of housing economics in the last few years.

Before we try to set up the challenge which these facts present to the Catholic layman and to the Church, let us look at the reasons why the Church, it seems to me, must take leadership in the field of neighborhood conservation.

The first of these reasons, if we may take them in the inverse order of their real importance, is financial. The fact is that a typical parish today represents a substantial investment. It embraces a church, a school, a rectory, a convent. In short, it means buildings—brick and mortar. The new parishes which we currently face the need of establishing in order to accommodate the movement of our urban population are now costing two to five times as much as the perfectly satisfactory buildings which are being deprived of their value solely through the process of neighborhood deterioration.

Mr. Downs, real-estate market analyst and consultant in Chicago, is Housing and Development Coordinator for that city.

The impact of population movement on the financial problems of the Church is particularly important in the light of the revolution in family budgets which has been taking place over the past fifty years. Sixty or seventy years ago the patterns of family expenditures were relatively simple. They were largely made up of food, shelter and clothing. In such simple budgets a relatively high percentage of income was and could be devoted to religion. Today the family budget is a highly complex and seriously strained economic entity. Family expenditures embrace the purchase of automobiles, television sets, various electric appliances, cosmetics, hospital-care insurance, life insurance and social security. The family budget is under a greater strain than ever before. Unquestionably the percentage which is devoted to religion—which comes voluntarily in the form of contributions and pledges for a new school or a new church—suffers from this pressure.

The second reason why it seems to me that the Church must be vitally interested in this program is a social one. There is something terribly wrong socially about the penning of people into steadily expanding solid ghettoes. Not only is it very bad for those who must live in these ghettoes, but many families suffer greatly because they feel that they must sell their property and move out. Most white parishioners believe they must flee from the incoming Negroes. They fear that property values will decline; that unless they act at once when the first Negro families move into their neighborhoods, they will take heavy losses. Such fears, of course, are known in many instances to have been fanned by professional speculators and exploiters.

This is stark tragedy, especially for people in their declining years who would like to stay in the communities in which they have roots and who would like to continue to live in the close-in areas of the cities which are the most convenient for them from every point of view. These people look to their religious and civic leaders for aid.

Especially important are the spiritual and moral reasons why neighborhood conservation is a challenge to the Church. The fact is that crime rates, corruption and spiritual demoralization go along with overcrowding and physical deterioration. One great reason for this is that the people whom some call second-class citizens usually get second-class service from the city. Street maintenance, garbage collection and police protection in the most desirable areas of the city are more effective than the same services as performed in the slums. We cannot permit these conditions to go on. They are sapping the moral and spiritual strength of all who are exposed to them.

In view of these facts the question naturally arises: "What can we do about our declining neighborhoods?" Neighborhood conservation, we believe, is the answer. In Chicago a number of pastors have already recognized this fact and have started to do something about

it. On the national level, Msgr. John O'Grady of the National Conference of Catholic Charities has done much about it. At a special meeting of diocesan representatives in Detroit in September, 1951 and at the National Catholic Welfare Conference meeting in Cleveland last year, the subject was discussed in an exploratory way.

People Must Help Themselves

Recently I had an inspiring experience. I visited the annual meeting of the Congress of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council. Six hundred people—representatives of as many local organizations—were participating in one of the most significant neighborhood programs in the United States. Among their interests were safety, traffic, public health, housing and recreation. The president of this great group is a Roman Catholic priest. Many of its outstanding leaders are pastors and curates of local parishes; scores of its constituent organizations are parish groups.

Basic to any and every program of neighborhood conservation in urban areas is the determination that existing physical integrity of housing shall be maintained; that no substandard housing shall be created by conversion, improvisation or alteration.

In my own city of Chicago we are at the bottom of a funnel whose feed-pipe extends down along the Illinois Central Railroad and whose mouth widens out below Memphis. In that tremendous territory are thousands and thousands of potential migrants who would like to come North for the very same reason that my grandfathers came to this country—to find freedom and opportunity. A high percentage of these people are in no position to pay economic rents, however modest, on standard dwelling units. Still, their condition is such that they would rather come here and live in a rat-infested coal-bin than remain where they are.

There are those who would like to put a stop to this migration on grounds of ethnic prejudice. We are certainly not interested in the problem from that point of view. But in the interests of human decency and the maintenance of our cities as sound physical and social units, we cannot allow people to migrate into unsafe, unsanitary and indecent living quarters provided by greedy exploiters. We can stop such deterioration only by positively forbidding the creation of new sub-standard units; by placing heavy penalties on overcrowding; by developing neighborhood vigilance to preventing "sneak" conversions.

Besides these preventive measures, there is need of a campaign to promote positive community action. Both the older residents and the newcomers have to learn that they have a common interest in maintaining housing standards in the neighborhood. They have to be shown how, by cooperative action, they can see to it that tenants, owners and civic authorities all do their part in maintaining those standards.

In addition, neighborhood conservation means the regeneration of hope and confidence in the hearts of people living in conservation areas. One of the most depressing things about declining neighborhoods is their lack of resources for leadership. People of means and ingenuity are the first to leave threatened areas. By the time the need for leadership becomes obvious, the potential leaders are gone. Any successful program of conservation must contemplate the introduction of leadership from outside as well as the developing of it inside. The people and organizations in healthier social and economic neighborhoods have just as much interest in the prevention of blight in the threatened territories as those who live there. For blight is epidemic; like any form of disease, it will spread. Those who are safe today will be in jeopardy tomorrow if they do not take immediate steps to remedy the condition when and where it occurs.

Public Opinion

We must direct the attention of the community to exploitation and its ravages. Some time ago I inspected a building in the heart of our slums which, from the point of view of any accepted criteria of physical value, was virtually worthless. Yet this building is occupied by ten families who bring the landlord a net income of $3,000 per year. The owner of this building is a person of means who lives in a fine residential area—far from the squalor of the slums. She deals through an agent and is never forced to see personally the suffering from which she profits. We have long since turned the spotlight of public scorn on many classes of those who would profit from human misery. We must do so in the field of housing. Owners of this kind must be made to feel the shame of their selfishness. They belong in the category of white slavers and exploiters of child labor.

I am one of those who feel that mass housing in multiple-unit buildings is not the solution to the dwelling needs of our people. It is neither socially nor economically sound in a family society. The single-family home offers the family the roots, the interests and the security it so badly needs in a mechanized, megalopolitan world. Men whose labor is more and more given over to automatic tasks need the challenge and the significance of the chores of home ownership. Such men are better churchmen and better citizens.

But homeowners need some assurance that when they put their life's savings into homes, these will not be threatened by the encroachment of commerce, industry, overcrowding and other forms of blight. That involves zoning. The whole concept of zoning is based upon recognition of the fact that integrity of property-use must be a community guarantee. The Church has a vital interest in seeing that the guarantee is fulfilled with complete justice to *all* the people of the community.

The priest in the parish and the Church in the civic community are in natural positions of leadership. They have the strongest of reasons—social, moral, supernatural—for exercising that leadership to promote the welfare of many hundreds of families, many thousands of souls.

The solicitude of the Church for the refugee

IN THE JANUARY ISSUE of the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, the Rev. Aloysius J. Wycislo, Assistant Director of the NCWC-War Relief Services, publishes a long commentary on the August 1, 1952 Apostolic Constitution, *Exsul familia*, which is concerned with "the spiritual care of emigrants." At the end of the article, Father Wycislo appends a chart of the "estimated world refugee problem." Here are the staggering totals of refugees, country by country:

Europe:	
Austria	302,000
Belgium	60,000
Denmark	2,000
France	300,000
Greece	38,000
Italy	590,000
W. Germany	9,700,000
E. Germany	4,000,000
Luxembourg	750
Netherlands	7,500
Saar	4,000
Sweden	42,000
Trieste	5,000
United Kingdom	400,000
	15,451,250
Near and Middle East	
Jordan	300,000
Syria	90,000
Lebanon	140,000
Egypt	250,000
Iraq	25,000
Israel	45,000
Turkey	250,000
India	5,000,000
Pakistan	7,000,000
	13,100,000
Far East	
Korea	5,000,000
Hong Kong	1,000,000
Formosa	4,000,000
	10,000,000
Total (all countries)	38,551,250

Moved by this terrible and largely man-made problem, the Holy Father has issued new and modernized norms for the spiritual care of the refugees. They comprise the second part of the Apostolic Constitution, and since they exclusively concern regulations for bishops and priests—the establishment of diocesan organizations to care for refugees, the faculties of priests working with groups of other rites, and so on—they need not detain us here.

What is of great interest to the general public is the historical record of the perennial solicitude of the Church for refugees which the Pope outlines in masterly fashion in the first part of the Constitution. It is an account too little known of how the Church, down the ages, has lavished her love on the exiled Holy Family (the *exsul familia* of the document's title) in the persons of the homeless of the world.

The Holy Father rapidly sketches the work of the early Church in caring for the wandering barbarians who flooded into the Roman Empire, the heroism of the religious families who toiled for the ransom of captives, the work of missionaries among the first colonizers of the New World and the solicitude for Negro slaves that fired the zeal of men like St. Peter Claver. But he devotes most of his survey to the anxiety of the modern Popes for the new type of refugee to which wars and population pressures have given birth.

In the very first year of his reign, Leo XIII warmly supported the St. Raphael Verein, set up by the bishops of Germany to aid German migrants. A year later he seconded the work of the Scalabrini Fathers among the Italian immigrants to North and South America. It was Leo who turned the missionary zeal of St. Frances Xavier Cabrini to work among the same Italian immigrants.

Blessed Pius X established in the Sacred Consistorial Congregation a special section "for the spiritual welfare of migrants of the Latin Rite" (March 19, 1941), and appointed a bishop of the Ruthenian Rite in both the United States and Canada to meet the needs of clergy and faithful of the Oriental Rite.

Benedict XV urged the hierarchy of South America to have special care for immigrants (May 24, 1919), gave special praise and encouragement to U. S. priests and bishops who were aiding Mexican priests and people under persecution (November 25, 1914 and March 17, 1915). His final work for refugees was to establish in Italy an annual National Day for Assistance to Migrants and to urge each parish priest to say Mass once a year for the furtherance of the work.

Pius XI evinced his care for migrants mainly through what he did for those of the Oriental Rite. He entrusted the care of refugees of the Slavic Rite to a special commission on Russia. He established the Ordinariate at Harbin in China, which has handled thousands of refugees from Russia and, these days, from Red China. He was also untiring in reminding the Mexican bishops of the plight of the migrant workers wandering to the United States.

The work of Pius XII for the refugees occupies eighteen pages in the present Constitution. Space allows only a brief summary of what he has done. He has established the Vatican Information Bureau to locate missing persons, the Commission of Charitable Aid, the Pontifical Commission of Assistance to Refugees and the Pontifical Relief Commission. He sent a Pontifical Mission for Refugees to Germany and to Austria, and established the Vatican Migration Bureau. The Pontifical Commission for Palestine is his foundation, as is the International Catholic Migration Commission, with offices at Geneva.

This is in very summary outline the record of the magnificent care of the Papacy for those millions who

constitute one of the gravest problems of our times. The Popes are keenly aware, as Pius XII says, that "immigration can help in solving one of Europe's and the world's saddest human problems—a problem which has been aggravated inhumanely by the enforced transfer of helpless, innocent populations." H. C. G.

FEATURE "X"



J. Edward Twelb (the name is a pseudonym), a seminarian, makes a plea for help for the missions—not so much material help, however, as the alms of our prayers and sacrifices offered for those who sit in darkness.

AT THE APPROACH of the chair of Unity Octave my mind almost instinctively went back to my preseminary days, to the days of my sassy teens when problems concerning religion were few and solutions to those problems sharp and clear.

One problem there was, however, that defied solution, and it invariably bubbled to my mind's surface during the sermon of the missionary invited to the parish pulpit on the Sunday during Unity Octave. "Why," I wondered, "is the technique always the same —a long plea for prayer and sacrifice for the missions, a humorous story or two, then the request for money?"

"Why the waste of time on pleas for prayer?" I cynically challenged. "Even the most saintly of the parish saints must know that when all is said and done, the purpose of a mission sermon is to extract money."

Perhaps my attitude stemmed partly from the fact that in our missionary activity in school, ice-cream and soda sales, bazaars and special collections for orphans bulked large. Undoubtedly its roots drove deep down into my mind, unawakened as yet to the truth that in the economy of saving men's souls, push-button methods and slick sales techniques were rejected once for all when Christ scorned to leap from the Temple's pinnacle.

Some thirteen years as a religious, including three in postwar Japan, have brought enlightenment. Now, as I face ordination to the priesthood and "mission sermons" thereafter, I naturally wonder if I will be preaching to people with attitudes the same as mine of yesteryear. If so, I suspect they would smile incredulously on hearing that were someone to offer me half a million dollars for mission work or a promise that every day he would pray sincerely for fifteen minutes and perform some act of real penance for the conversion of the pagan world, I would choose the latter.

Before considering this hypothetical offer more fully, let me explain the reason for my choice by sketching some typical "cases" of pagans in their approach to Catholicism.

Noboru Kawaguchi has been writing to me off and on for the past year. A college student, he has studied and continues to study Catholicism with a feverishness that would jolt one who believes that all Orientals are "imperturbable." When Noboru's mother was dying last spring, he was overjoyed to have her baptized. As for his own baptism, well—"I'm not quite ready, Father. How is that, if religion is natural to man and if Catholicism is God's answer to man's natural desire for religion, I don't feel any attraction?"

And week passes after week with, "I'm not quite ready, Father."

Keisuke Sakai, a kindly Buddhist grandfather, learned about Catholicism from a Japanese student, recently converted. He listens keenly to explanations of the catechism, poses a question now and then, smokes his pipe and thinks about what he has learned. "And do you want to be baptized, honorable old man?" the student asks after long months.

"You say that men who die with great, unrepented crimes in their hearts are punished forever?"

"Yes, that is what we believe."

"Ah, that is hard. Has not Buddha taught that such will be punished but eventually purified and brought to rest? Forever? And you say that God is all-good! How can it be?"

Evening is darkening into night for the "honorable old man" as he smokes his pipe and tries to square his new learning with many centuries of a pagan tradition.

Haruko Ishii returned to Japan after three years of college work at a famous American college. Her long training at a convent school in Japan has made her familiar with Catholic teaching to a point where, seeing the hedonism of many of her American classmates, she is convinced that "such girls do not know how to live." Haruko, however, is not a Catholic. She finds it hard to understand how God can be all-powerful and at the same time create sin-prone creatures. A reading and rereading of St. Augustine's *Confessions* and Frank Sheed's *Theology and Sanity* open up new lanes of thought. But still, "I need more time to think. It is so hard to understand."

And so it goes. Time after time you see that literally awful thing, the human will, push God-ward, push and push again, but always fall short. You wait for that final in-thrust of grace which alone can drive the will all the way. You wait and pray, wait and do penance. You can teach, you can persuade, you can urge. But only God can touch those depths of interiority where man declares himself.

My conviction of the need for sustained prayer and real penance, though supported by personal experiences, is rooted much more deeply. It springs from the knowledge that the grace of conversion, like all grace, is a *gift* of God, not pried from Him by purely human efforts, but freely given by Him when and in what measure He wishes.

Every normal adult, we know, does receive grace, urging him to live in full conformity with God's will. Frequently, he will be led to see that actual membership in the Catholic Church is God's will for him.

How, then, can we best aid the millions of the pagan world or, for that matter, our fellow-Christians whom we would like one day to greet as fellow-Catholics? By prayer, penance and truly holy living. By these means we can most effectively beg the Lord of the harvest not to allow possible converts to close their ears to His call. United with Christ as members of His Mystical Body, Catholics are identified with Him "who in the days of his flesh, with a strong cry and tears, offering up prayers and supplications to [His Father] . . . was heard for his reverence" (Heb. 5:7). Can we do better than perpetuate that strong cry and those tears of the God-Man?

True apostolic prayer, coupled, as it must be, with belief in God's desire to save all men, soars out to the aid of others. But it also has another effect; an effect on the one who prays. It sharpens supernatural insight and whets the will for fuller partnership with God in the only enterprise paying dividends that will still be valuable after Armageddon. It brings serenity to him who prays, for he comes to see that, terribly earnest as *he* is in his desire to lead others to the Church, God is earnestness itself—to the point of sacrificing His Son for mankind.

Now perhaps it may be clear why the hypothetical donor of an earlier paragraph was handled as he was. In asking for prayer and sacrifice before money, I would have my cake and eat it, for the check would be delayed, not denied. The donor's fidelity to prayer would insure that. And as a fruit of prayer, he would be conscious, not so much of his own generosity in donating money to the missions, as of the kindness of God in drawing him to lay up treasures for eternity.

J. Edward Twelb

Buck-passing among the bookmen

Harold C. Gardiner

The House of Representatives Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials (the Gathings Committee), on whose work we commented editorially ("Controlling lewd literature," 12/20/52) has just published its complete report. Containing a majority and a strong minority report, the document runs to 137 pages, and devotes most of its attention to the problems raised by the pocket-size books. It urges that the Postmaster General be empowered to impound mail, pending legal determination, addressed to anyone selling obscene matter by mail, and that the shipment of obscene matter by any type of carrier (common or private) be declared illegal. It calls for more consistent enforcement of the existing laws against obscene material and adverts to the problem of the "tie-in" sales of pornographic material with unobjectionable matter.

But the striking section of the majority report is this paragraph on the pocket-size books:

> The so-called pocket-size books, which originally started out as cheap reprints of standard works, have largely degenerated into media for the dissemination of artful appeals to sensuality, immorality, filth, perversion and degeneracy. The exaltation of passion above principle and the identification of lust with love are so prevalent that the casual reader of such "literature" might easily conclude that all married persons are habitually adulterous and all teen-agers completely devoid of any sex inhibitions.

To this the minority report objects very strongly, declaring:

LITERATURE AND ARTS

> The publishers of pocket-size books are certainly deserving of better treatment than wholesale condemnation. They have done much to bring within the reach of the entire population classics and great works of literature which were formerly available only to those who could afford to purchase higher-priced editions. The books on the committee's dossier comprise only a fraction of the total sales of these publishers.

The minority report feels, therefore, that the majority conclusion is "highly arbitrary and unfair, based on insufficient evidence."

It seems to me that the minority report, though it is in order in rebuking the majority for language that is too sweeping, misses the real point. It is not so much a question whether objectionable books are a large or small fraction of a firm's output, but whether the firm is publishing them in sufficient quantity to make them a widespread danger. It is true, for example, that the New American Library, publisher of Signet and Mentor Books, has made classics available to a growing audience. But when we read, as we do in a press release dated January 21, the firm's boast that with the publication of Erskine Caldwell's *Episode in Palmetto* "the sales of Caldwell's books in Signet editions top the 30 million mark," we begin to wonder whether the firm is more interested in spreading the classics or in battening on the lurid.

What was really at stake during the hearings of the Gathings Committee was fundamentally an issue much more important than the precise number and bad effect of the objectionable books and magazines now debauching the public taste and public morals—highly important as that is. What was fundamental was the whole question of the sense of responsibility of U. S. publishers, mainly those producing pocket-size books, though by no means those publishers exclusively. If the pocket-book publishers had been more objective in their testimony before the committee, willing to admit mistakes that are obvious to everyone else and less briskly to defend every book under their imprint, we bystanders would have been much more persuaded of their realization of the responsibility that is inescapably theirs by the very fact that they are publishers.

Publishers Need Reminding

This is indeed a prime fact of which all publishers need to remind themselves from time to time—or be reminded. By a quaint coincidence, such a reminder is administered by Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama in the same issue of the *Publishers' Weekly* (January 10), in which a long report of the findings of the Gathings Committee appears. The coincidence lies in the fact that Senator Hill's remarks are in an article that will later appear in *The Wonderful World of Books*, to be published by Houghton Mifflin *and* the New American Library on February 25. NAL's editors might well make a week-end retreat with Senator Hill's words as points for their meditations.

Senator Hill begins with the reminder that education, especially in these disturbed days, is not a matter that ends with the formal education that schools and colleges provide. It follows that the "educational agencies that are not part of the formal school system" are more important than they have ever been. And high among these agencies are the publishers of books. Among their "critical responsibilities" Senator Hill enumerates the following:

> [Publishers] must continue to publish books that have something important to say even though they may not have a wide popular appeal and the publishers may not recover expenses from them; they must continue to publish new authors who show promise even though their first, second or even third books may not demonstrate a sufficiently matured talent to enjoy a good sale; *they should avoid bringing out sensational books even if they promise to sell well* (emphasis added).

Many a publisher will, of course, shudder at the utter idealism (as he will estimate it) of such a program, but certainly Senator Hill deserves our gratitude for reminding the whole publishing industry of a cardinal fact—that publishers are, whether they like it or not, educators.

Do publishers need this reminder? Not all do, of course, and we may well pay a deserved tribute here to those firms which have, by and large, lived up to these high ideals. But there *are* firms that still play the old buck-passing game. I have sat in on a meeting in which the advertising department of a prominent publishing firm displayed the lurid jacket with which it proposed to push a new book of the *Forever Amber* type. When the fast-talking ad-man saw some brows in the group lifted at the openly seductive jacket, he paused and in an aggrieved tone said: "Well, don't blame me. I'm not an educator; I don't train the buying public. I just give them what they want."

Another firm has an editor who is a truly cultured gentleman. He would not, I know, in the classic phrase, be caught dead reading a type of mystery story his firm spews out by the hundreds of thousands. But will he sell them? Why, of course—he is not an educator, you see. If the home, the church, the school, cannot tell people what they ought to repudiate, who is he to try to do the job they have not done?

And so it goes. Publishing houses that perpetrate regularly the *Forever Amber*, the *Duchess Hotspur*, the *Emperor's Wench*, the *Caroline Cherie*, the *Manatee* type of book, all take refuge in the "well, after all, I'm not an educator" argument. It's a weasel and dishonest argument and causes many to eye with suspicion even the more responsible houses which proudly know and honestly try to live up to their responsibility as, to revert to Senator Hill's remarks, "educators beyond the schools."

And Booksellers Do, Too

Irresponsible publishers are not the only ones concerned with books who engage in the game of buck-passing. Such publishers will do the trick under the above "no educator" pretense. The bookseller is officially urged to do it under the "freedom of information" label. At a recent meeting of the American Booksellers' Association, this idea was set forth:

> Bookselling is an old and dignified vocation, and it came to be that way because it has always accepted the responsibility of offering for sale *Macbeth* or *Mein Kampf;* truth and fiction, exposé and muckraking history and prognostication, side by side on its shelves for the reader to choose at his discretion. If the bookseller is to retain a free place where free men select reading matter each to his taste, then he must contribute to expose to the light *all books of all publishers* for public examination (emphasis added).

This is a neat and high-sounding formula that absolves an individual bookseller from any and all responsibility. I am not by any means suggesting that any bookseller is free to keep from his public books of which his own prejudices, narrowness, sectarian spirit or political bias may disapprove. He has a duty to serve that public, but he has with equal obligation a duty not to be the occasion by which that public is debauched. To demand that a bookseller, to be worthy of the name, is obliged to display *all* books of *all* publishers, is to deprive the bookseller of all responsibility for making a choice, for exercising his proper function as an educator honorably serving the community and the welfare of the nation.

This problem of the responsibility that fronts the publisher and the bookseller and of the subterfuges and slogans behind which they too often hide from that responsibility are but two case studies in a wide disease that threatens to eat away at American responsibility-vitals. "Freedom of speech, of expression," "freedom from censorship" and kindred formulae are indeed external slogans that represent the true spirit of democratic principles. But they can be—they are being—so bandied about as to add up merely and completely and shockingly to an abdication of the necessity of making a choice, of coming to a decision, of standing on principle—an abdication that, in sum, means that in a democracy anything goes, that liberty equals license, that freedom is to be equated with recklessness.

Shall I just end up on this rhetorical note? That would not be to get very far. What can the book publishers and booksellers do? Most of them, I happen to know, are not people who confuse liberty with license. They individually are U. S. citizens who have a deep conviction of their responsibility to God, themselves and the country they are honestly trying to serve. The trouble is that those who try to speak officially for them contribute more confusion than clarity to their thinking. I suggest that the American Bookpublishers' Council and the American Booksellers' Association give some protracted and serious thought to the problem of responsibility as it applies to the book trade. They should desist, until such study is completed, from hasty and glib phrases that do no more, in trying to uphold the freedom of those who manufacture and purvey books, than unwittingly to absolve them of the responsibility they share with the home, the school and the church.

If the work of the Gathings Committee accomplished no more than this—to open wide the fundamental problem of responsibility among the bookmen—it did a job for which all who cherish American freedom under God can be thankful.

First Farmer

"And Adam planted him a garden, eastward in Eden."

I knew a Farmer once
(O stout of heart,
Serene, Augustan,
Crowned with silver thatch)
Who from his hickory
Rocker tutored me
After long musings
On the ways of Life.
No leaves he conned
But from the Tree of Life:
No words he quoted
But from God's Own Book:
The living roots of trees,
He said, reach down
And lay their hold
Upon the living Rock,
Dredging up virtue
From the hot earth's core:
Granite from molten lava
Born with cold
Opens its heart
To the blind, groping root:
The leaves hold converse
With the sun and air:
And Life, the Will of God
In man and beast
Is One in all things:
Wood and worm
And gnat no less
Obey the impulse of
That Holy Will
That holds the stars
Sustained as by a Word
Uttered across the sky
Like frosty breath.
And Life is One
And from the self-same Source
By many streams descends
And blends
And step by step
Ascends,
Climbing an endless stair
Back to the Source.
So spoke the Farmer
On his screened-in porch
Rocking his hickory rocker
Back and forth.
And now the breeze
Lifted his scanty locks
And tossed them lightly
Like an accolade.

S. D. NEWBERRY.

The Monk in Rainstorm

When midnight fills our lonely woods
with silence deeper than deepdown seas
when clouds come down like trappist hoods
and rain swims through the trembling trees,

I sit alone in my stonedry cell
listening long to the whipcrack wind
like some lost fury out to tell
against what love the world has sinned;

Lord, let me stand in the midst of storm
and bear the wrench and rage of sky
till Thou restore the ancient form
and bring me home all safe and dry;

then let the dawn come dazzle down
and sun leap up like lifted Host
the day shall wear Thy gleaming crown
and feel the fire of Holy Ghost!

THOMAS P. MCDONNELL

Pilgrim of eternity

A HOUSE IN BRYANSTON SQUARE

By Algernon Cecil. Harcourt, Brace. 360p. $5

This is the intellectual autobiography of a man of Chesterton's and Belloc's generation, who is best known in this country for his studies of More and Metternich and Robert Cecil, another member of his famous family.

The book reminds one most frequently of the great book by Henry Adams on his education. There is here the same freedom from cant, the same resolute thought, the same wisdom which tries to see the whole of life, and which is honest enough to do as much justice to Our Lady as to the dynamo. Mr. Cecil started from the same standpoint of the age of reason, but he came to more definite conclusions than Adams.

The author wrote this book in the hope that it might revive a sense of the providential direction which seems to be disappearing from human life in sympathy with the growing disintegration of human society. In the wilderness ahead of us we may lose all hope, unless we learn to think again theocratically and to recognize upon what terms alone the Kingdom of God can be brought to earth. From a study of man and his history the author attempts to find those terms, to set in relief that design of the world which alone can preserve us from becoming designing, each man for himself, each nation for itself.

Through his London house, now destroyed, the author goes conversing with Rabelais of the jolly eye, Montaigne of the open, searching vision, Pascal of the intuitive spirit. In the dining room he chats with Rabelais as he reflects on *l'homme moyen sensuel.* In the library, as he goes from the physical to the metaphysical, he speaks with Montaigne, whose companionship seemed particularly congenial to a room consecrated to the pleasures of roving, humane thought and critical discussion. Up the stairway, rising to the starlight and the spiritual, he goes with Pascal.

Finally, through the images of creation, through the mirror, he enters to see the play of history unfold. It is a strange play where things advance and yet where past and future are present. He asked Henry Adams, who was in one of the stalls, what the play was about. "God knows!" came the reply. Luckily there were some programs to be had with, so to say, the divine *imprimatur* upon them. He began studying the argument with rapt intensity, starting with the first synopsis which was headed "Proem from Genesis." He gathered that Christianity was more worth study by the philosophic historian than all the rest put together. As the play unfolds he sees that Christianity alone gives sense to the action, and that the play is clearest at the high point of the Middle Ages.

Adams, dismissing as bourgeois the taste of Voltaire and Diderot, wrote in *Mont St. Michel and Chartres* that with the Virgin's taste during her regency, critics never find fault. Cecil, especially in one chapter on Our Lady's Mirror, shows that the churches of Notre Dame were palaces of truth as well as homes of beauty. He is especially eloquent in describing the effect of the Virgin-Mother on Christian humanism.

Given another twenty-five years of life, Adams might have been in position to complete his education by subscribing to Chesterton's theory that one had only to live long enough to end as a pessimistic atheist or a Catholic. Cecil's life, fortunately, was long enough. In this record of the latter days of a London house, of thoughts that passed through the mind of one of its last inhabitants, of voices that once were heard there, of some adventures of ideas, some perceptions of design that once had their home there, the reader finds something of the effect produced by the great Florentine, Leonardo, who more perhaps than any other painter tends to turn every traveler through time into a pilgrim of eternity.



This is a profound and subtle book by a discriminating and honest author, written with many of the stylistic graces of a disappearing generation. The style takes on a definite drawing-room manner when Cecil writes of his wife. Describing her beauty, he says that "divine wisdom playing in the world and molding matter to its mind would never have wanted anything so sensational, not to say garish, as the launching of a thousand ships to have come about because of her." The most eloquent writing is found in the vision of history and the influence of Mary's love, but the best criticism is compressed into the conversations with Rabelais, Pascal and Montaigne. Maurice Baring would have thoroughly enjoyed such a book.

THOMAS J. M. BURKE

BOOKS

Missions in Colonial Mexico

BLACK ROBES IN LOWER CALIFORNIA

By Peter Masten Dunne, S.J. University of California Press. 540p. $6.50

It is a commonplace in the California story to speak of the "21 missions of our State, reaching from San Diego in the south to Sonoma in the north." Commonplaces, however, are not always accurate. The student of the complete California ecclesiastical story knows full well, given that the present boundary line between American and Mexican California is a purely political creation dating from 1848, that 46 missions were established in all of California. Baja or Lower California saw 25 of these frontier institutions of the faith established within its boundaries and, of these, 17 were Jesuit-founded, while the Dominican and Franciscan Fathers accounted for the other 8.

So the story of the California missions was not begun by Padre Junipero Serra with his foundation of Mission San Diego in 1769, for he was merely continuing the grand design outlined by earlier missionaries and which had its pioneer days between 1697-1768 when Baja California was strengthened with 17 outposts of spiritual empire by the Salvatierra-Ugarte group of Jesuit missionaries.

The story of the 21 Franciscan missions of the modern and American California will never die, presumably, as long as there are devotees of all kinds to cherish that fine saga and to await the return of "those swallows" to Capistrano each Spring. All this being to the good, it yet remains true that a sense of historical completeness would seem to demand that the tale of the earlier missions of California be accurately told. This Father Dunne has accomplished, so far as the Jesuit phase is concerned.

The opening words of his well-written preface may be appositely quoted here:

> For many years there has been a need for the story of the Jesuit Missions of Lower California in a single volume. Parts of the record have received expert treatment by such modern historians as Bolton, Decorme and Engelhardt. The last mentioned has given the history in much detail, but has united it with the Franciscan and Dominican periods.

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THE CHURCH & MODERN SCIENCE

> Besides, Father Engelhardt wrote many years ago and important documents have since been made available . . . it is hoped, therefore, that the present work will shed additional light . . .

The appearance of Fr. Dunne's book at this time points up the fact that Baja California has, very gradually, been coming into its own. Recently, the peninsula has been admitted to Statehood in the Mexican nation, after having been a territory for many years. Now, too, a Bishop, with headquarters in Tiajuana, rules the Vicariate Apostolic of Baja California.

Fr. Dunne's volume has the advantage of projecting the whole "Baja" story against the background of a carefully researched and carefully presented narrative which will interest all who wish to probe more deeply than is allowed by the already published treatments of the Lower California story.

This book is the fourth in a series by Fr. Dunne in which he has meticulously related the history of Jesuit mission enterprises in colonial Mexico. In the opinion of this reviewer, it has greater reader interest and appeal than any of its predecessors. A serviceable and intelligible map makes the story easily understood, and the apparatus of critical scholarship is so presented as not to conflict with the text. Incidentally, if you enjoy interesting reflections as presented by a mature scholar, you will want to read carefully the preface to this book.

W. Eugene Shiels

Thrill of the climb

ANNAPURNA: FIRST CONQUEST OF AN 8,000-METER PEAK

By Maurice Herzog. Translated from the French by Nea Morin and Janet Adam Smith. Dutton. 316p. $5

It has long been the ambition of mountain climbers the world over to conquer an "eight thousander" (an 8,000-meter peak). The intense cold, the fearful psychic and physical aberrations that beset humans at such altitudes, the deadly avalanches, falling seracs and treacherous crevasses are only *some* of the obstacles. But now it has been done. Annapurna, towering 8,075 meters (26,493 feet) into the Nepalese sky, has been conquered by the French Himalayan Expedition led by Maurice Herzog in 1950. His account, dictated from a hospital bed, is a permanent and even unique contribution to the literature of climbing.

The meticulous planning, the camps set from 16,750 feet up to 24,600 feet, the fierce joy of Herzog and Lachenal during their few agonized moments on the summit—all these would have been sufficient in themselves for a saga. Yet actually, the climactic part of this book begins *after* the summit was reached, for it was then that the price had to be paid. Herzog lost his gloves and his hands froze. He and a supporting group were nearly annihilated by an avalanche and survived only through an accidental fall into a crevasse. The five-week trek back on stretchers was punctuated by incredibly painful operations; Lachenal lost his toes, and Herzog all his toes and fingers. The photographs are gruesome, and Marcel Ichac's maps excellent.

Was it worth it? To Herzog, yes; he ecstatically conveys to his readers that, until this bitter fight with a peak, he had not known the depth and range of life. Now he does, and enjoys a peace that passes understanding. Peace through suffering is not an unfamiliar phenomenon, but usually the suffering comes from some uninduced calamity, or as the penalty for risks taken for some high purpose. Is mountain climbing a sufficiently high purpose? Perhaps the author would consider the question an impertinent one. At any rate, it seems to this reviewer that such courage and devotion as M. Herzog exhibits deserve an object even higher than an "eight thousander."

Phillips Temple

DESIRÉE

By Annemarie Selinko. Morrow. 594p. $4.50

Desirée is an historical novel of the years of Napoleon's rise and fall and the founding of the Bernadotte dynasty in Sweden.

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The story is written in diary form, begun by the heroine when she is but fourteen years of age. The style is therefore simple to begin with and is as strangely simple to the end, making the reader conscious of the static quality of the main character.

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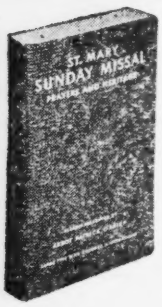
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detail which might have been omitted without detriment to either style or plot. No doubt the biographical novelist cannot but fall in love with a main character—a fact which in this book brings about a certain maternal dotage that leads to prolixity.

Nonetheless, *Desirée* is a very human story and one that will not fail to charm the reader with its simplicity.

LYDIA C. GIGLIO

IDEAS OF THE GREAT ECONOMISTS

By George Soule. Viking. 218p. $3.50

Professor Soule apparently has dedicated himself to the laudable task of making economics palatable and intelligible to the uninitiated. This book is only the latest of his efforts towards that end. Those who are already acquainted with the author's previous writings will expect this book to be written in a lucid style and an interesting manner, and so it is. Professor Soule's works are clear proof that economic writing need not be dull, ponderous and opaque.

The most important names which occur in the standard textbooks on the history of economic thought are to be found in this book; the less important ones are not. It does not pretend to be a complete history of economic thought. In it the reader will find summary expositions of the doctrines of the mercantilists and the physiocrats, of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Malthus, Fourier, Henry George, Marx, Marshall, Keynes, Veblen and many others. In addition to concise outlines of doctrine, there are biographical data and historical background.

The author's introductory explanation of the nature of economics will leave most readers confused, since it fails to offer precise concepts. His treatment of the economic teaching of the Scholastics is neither better nor worse than a great many others, and they leave much to be desired. Most historians of economic thought have no understanding of the medieval world. The concept of natural law seems to elude them, and they all appear to share the same mistaken notions about the medieval Church. However, these defects do not vitiate the main body of this book.

The author's account of Smith is quite neat and his exposition of the substance of Marxian and Keynesian economics is very well done. But some readers will object to the scantiness of his treatment of Ricardo, in view of that writer's influence on subsequent economic thought.

Throughout, Professor Soule emphasizes the close connection between economic facts and theories and the resulting impermanent character of economic doctrine. Theories grow out of realities and these in turn grow out of changing needs and circumstances. He shows, too, how economic theories have always been used as weapons either for or against economic policies, for or against certain economic interests.

All things considered, the author has done about as good a job of summarizing an immense amount of material within the narrow limits of this book as can reasonably be expected of anyone. CORNELIUS A. ELLER

PROUD KATE

By Ishbel Ross. Harper. 309p. $4

The subtitle says this book is the "Portrait of an Ambitious Woman." One might add that it is a full-length canvas of a particularly unpleasant and obnoxious one. Possessed of a beautiful figure and an abundance of brains, Kate Chase could have done a great deal worth while. Instead, she was consumed by pride and lust for power—especially for the prestige and might which her father's election to the Presidency would have given her.

She splurged on clothing and furniture, gave lavish parties, and danced gaily in Civil War Washington while other women of her station devoted their attention to the wounded and the suffering. She married for money and proceeded to spend her husband's fortune in a veritable orgy of desire for high living. She was divorced during a period when such a thing was anathema, and still she cut a wide swath among her contemporaries. All the time, she intrigued and schemed to have her father boosted into the White House—even after he became Chief Justice.

The picture of her father, Salmon P. Chase, is a pathetic one of a man thrice widowed and somewhat daunted by his brilliant daughter's maneuverings; she went so far as to block his fourth marriage and so denied him the companionship he craved for his declining years. Her husband, Gov. William Sprague, of Rhode Island, was a pathetic person, too—completely incapable of coping with Kate, resorting more frequently to the bottle, and finally defending at gunpoint the gaudy mansion Kate built in his native State and abandoned after the divorce.

This is not a pretty story. The sordid details are set forth capably, though one questions the author's use of such expressions as "could have," "might have" and "should have" in the earlier, less-well-documented phases.

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At $6.50 (including five full meals), the *Olbia's* voyage is a fair example of dream trips you can afford. And there are others—colorful journeys to exotic lands that often cost little more than your vacation at home. Trade your usual beach for a houseboat in the Vale of Kashmir, or a cruise among the lesser Caribbean islands by native trading schooner.

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Last year, 52 million Americans spent a record of $12 billion on vacations. Many went on organized cruises at prices from $125 to $25,000. But some traveled off the tourist track, got cheaper and more glamorous vacations.

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CARIBBEAN. There are still undiscovered Edens at America's back door. Tobago, the Robinson Crusoe island that rivals Tahiti, where living is so cheap the island's chief official gets only $240 a month. Or Grenada, which, as a native described it: "Dis islan', suh, is t'ing Gahd mek from rainbo'." There, for $12 a week, you can rent a three-bedroom house with its own private beach. Many of the best spots can be reached only by trading schooner. Go down to the waterfront at Grenada or elsewhere and bargain with dusky skippers to make your own price—keep this up and cruise all the lesser islands of this jeweled chain.

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India. Minimum fare from New York to Ceylon, India, or Malaya is about $350. Transhipping in England, you can make the trip by luxury liner (tourist class) for $319. Go to the lotus-covered mountain lakes of Kashmir, where a furnished houseboat with four turbaned servants rents for $70 a month. Total costs for a couple run around $175 a month in the most beautiful spot on earth.

South Seas. You can still live the life of a Tahitian beachcomber—but not in Tahiti which has found out about the Yankee dollar. Instead, drowse on brilliant Sigatoka Beach at Suva or watch Pacific combers crash on reef-girt Norfolk or Lord Howe Islands. (You can reach the South Seas by freighter from the U. S.)

Africa. Perhaps the biggest travel bargain today is an 80-day luxury cruise round the Dark Continent, calling at a score of colorful ports like Dar-es-Salaam, for $700, round trip from Amsterdam. (You can reach Holland for $165 from the U. S.)

Mediterranean. A two week cruise to Malta, Naples, Casablanca, and Lisbon starts as low as $92, round trip from London, but try a longer stay—in the lush valleys of Mount Olympus on Cyprus, where a couple can live comfortably for $1,400 a year; on Aegean islands that hide remnants of a 5,000-year-old civilization among olive and cork groves; or with the fisherfolk of rocky Sardinia, where hotel rates are 24c a day or $1.12 with three good meals.

Atlantic Islands. Green cones standing out of the sparkling waters of the South Atlantic—these are the Azores and the Canaries. Tropical flowers, sandy beaches, and the charm of old Spain are combined here—with rents of about $20 a month, groceries for a couple at $10 a week and servants $5 a month each.

The vagabond voyager with a fistful of dreams can get aids to planning from these 2 guides:

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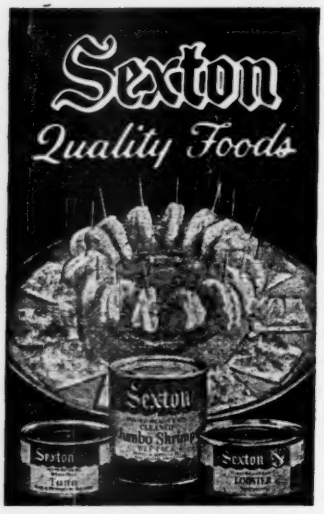
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It is obvious that the writer is a woman, for there are numerous descriptions of dress and costume—not only Kate Chase's, but that of every female who crossed her path.

WILLIAM D. HOYT JR.

THE LOTUS AND THE WIND

By John Masters. Viking. 275p. $3

This is John Masters' third novel, and his subject is still British India. The first novel was about the Mutiny, the second about Thuggee; this one is about the spy game, the Great Game of Kipling's *Kim*. The author was formerly a soldier and has an eye for terrain. The backdrops to his scene are good; his ear has caught for the reader a genuine sound of India; the bazaar gossip sounds real, and the relationship between master and servant is carefully and accurately portrayed.

Still, the main characters are too clumsily managed. They loom larger than life-size against the fine panorama John Masters has created; they are unable to mesh successfully with the subsidiary characters, except when once those characters are in the Army or the servant class.

The story tells of a seeming coward who redeems himself by a strenuous trek, accompanied by his faithful Gurkha soldier-servant, into the trans-Himalayan wilds that were the stamping grounds of the Mongol hordes the Czar of Russia was readying for a thrust against the British Raj. The story is exciting and truly told, but always in the background is the love story, as contrived, awkward and gauche as the action is alive, vivid and real.

This novel, like its predecessors, will probably enjoy a commercial success, and it seems a pity, for since the author has found a selling combination of adventurous action set against domestic infelicity, it seems unlikely that he will abandon it for something better, which may well be in him.

W. B. READY

THE NEW BREED

By Andrew Geer. Harper. 395p. $3.50

Earlier this year Pat Frank's novel *Hold Back the Night* was published as a fictionalized picture of the First Marine Division's battle to the sea in Korea in the winter of 1950, but in this ex-marine's opinion, at least, it failed to explain the distinctive quality of marine warfare. It is gratifying to report that we now have, in *The New Breed*, a book that gives the division's story in full and true detail.

Essentially, this book is a unit history of a militarily technical nature. But because it focuses on the platoon, squad and fire team rather than on the regiment and division, it is also a personalized account of heroism in action. The author details the formation of the First Marine Provisional Brigade (which quickly became known as "The Fire Brigade" because it prevented numerous threatening breakthroughs in the Pusan perimeter) and of the Division; the Inchon landing and capture of Seoul; the Wonsan landing and the push toward the Yalu; and the Chosin-to-Hungnam "advance in another direction."

In each phase of the campaign instances of action far beyond the call of duty are recited and the names of the men involved are given; small unit actions are fully reported; and tactical techniques are studied with special emphasis on the role of close support by marine air. The latter is of special military interest as a type of cooperation almost unknown to the Army and Air Corps, and as a further example of Marine Corps ingenuity.

Mr. Greer, who saw service in Korea as a marine field officer and is the author of many magazine stories and articles, has written an informative, factual account of the grueling first winter in Korea. A competent writer, he makes military history more exciting than most fictional battle accounts and articulates the marine viewpoint with rare success. Friends of the corps and readers of military adventure should find *The New Breed* well worth their attention.

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THE WORD

"Other seed fell upon good ground, and sprang up and yielded fruit a hundredfold" (Luke 8:8; Sexagesima Sunday).

Our Lord Himself explains the Parable of the Sower. The seed is the word of God. Three classes of men hear that word but through their own fault do not take it permanently to heart. Other men, by preserving this word, turn it to spiritual profit.

We who have received and kept the gift of faith will derive little benefit from the parable, however, if we simply classify ourselves as "the good ground," and then serenely survey the spiritual dangers we have avoided.

Rather, it would repay each one to reflect upon the fact that our Lord chose as the symbol of His doctrine, a *seed*. He may well have had two things in mind: the necessity of growth if the seed is to fulfil its purpose, and the varying returns which seed, even in good soil, can yield—some thirty, some sixty, some a hundredfold.

First, then, the need of growth: the kernel of wheat or corn does not lie unchanged in the earth, it either sprouts or dies. And the teachings of Christ avail us little if they become simply a set of truths accepted and then filed away in the mind. They cannot meet their purpose fully unless we know them well, invoke them to solve our problems and come to rely upon them.

Most of us have grown up as Catholics. We have known the catechism even from childhood. High-school and college years have further expanded and clarified our knowledge. But after our formal education is over, these truths all too soon become dim and confused in our minds. Nor do we keep them fresh and vivid just by listening attentively to brief weekly sermons or by reading an occasional article. And even if casual attention to religious topics were sufficient for us to retain what we have learned, what room there still is to improve our understanding of Christ's teachings!

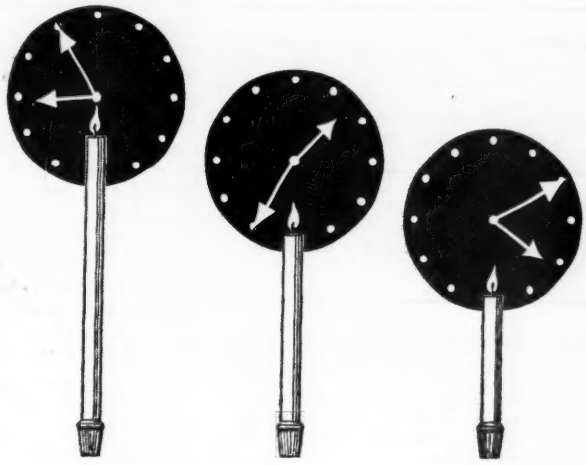
The means for that growth in knowledge are readily available to most Catholics. He who would study again the life of Christ has the Gospels and excellent commentaries. Many are the mature works on the doctrines and practices of the Church such as the Liturgy, the Mystical Body of Christ and the social encyclicals of the Popes. Congenial and fruitful discussion clubs give an opportunity for organized work in important fields of study.

Secondly, in sowing the divine word of His doctrine in our hearts, our Lord yearns that it produce as rich a harvest as possible. Too often we Catholics think of our religion in terms of "saving our souls" and "getting to heaven," as though it were enough that men for whom the Saviour died should avoid mortal sin.

To set our goal so low is to forget the measure in which Christ has dealt with us—that being God He became man for our sake, lived a human life like ours and shed His blood for us on Calvary. Christ does not ask that we lay down our lives for Him. But surely love and gratitude demand that we strive to make our service of our Redeemer a generous one.

Our Blessed Mother and the saints are they who have rendered Christ a hundredfold return in the harvest-field of their souls. And each of them was moved by one motive—a burning love which would not be satisfied but drove them to seek ever the *greater* glory of their Lord.

The Parable of the Sower is, therefore, not a Gospel to make us com-



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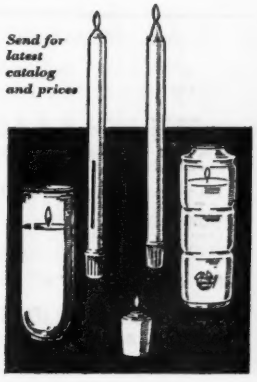
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PAUL A. REED, S.J.

THEATRE

MID-SUMMER, presented by Paul Crabtree and Frank J. Hale, has the double distinction of recapturing the Vanderbilt from the Philistine arts of radio and television and bringing a new actress to public attention. The latter event may be of future significance in the theatre.

Geraldine Page, in her first appearance before a Broadway audience, gave an electric performance in the leading role, winning journalistic acclaim from first-night critics that made the welkin ring. Miss Page richly deserves her triumph, for it is rare that even a veteran actress can achieve so radiant and revealing an interpretation of a character. It may be (in the opinion of this reviewer it is) the outstanding performance of the season.

Miss Page, however, did not leap to eminence by playing with a rag doll. She won her success by making a character vivid and believable, and will hardly begrudge Vina Delmar, the author who created the character, the luxury of basking in her reflected glory.

She may also owe a small debt of gratitude to Mr. Crabtree, who gave her, along with the supporting company, the benefit of his meticulous direction. Howard Bay, who designed the nostalgic set, and Motley, who copied the period costumes, provided the appropriate background and atmosphere for which she ought to be grateful.

No one will seriously contend that *Mid-Summer* is a distinguished play, although it may become a popular vehicle outside the big cities. Without striking originality of either subject or treatment, it is nevertheless the kind of unpretentious comedy that belongs in the roster of the theatre for occasional revival. The motivating character is a brilliant school teacher who chucks teaching and comes to New York to try for a stage career, bringing along with him his not-so-brilliant wife and their young daughter, an amazing prodigy.

It is the passive wife, however, who guides and colors the story, giving it meaning and significance. She is unlettered in worldly knowledge, perhaps being in that respect a bit overdrawn by the author, who makes her half-illiterate. But she is richly endowed with the more precious virtues of love, loyalty, humility and devotion to her family. She has the strength to win victory and the courage to give it away. She is, in short, representative of the countless legions of self-effacing women who remain anonymous while encouraging their men as they compete for the laurels of life. As portrayed by Miss Page, she is the most valiant dramatic character encountered on our stage in recent memory.

Mark Stevens is capable in the role of the ambitious husband, and Jenny Hecht is astonishing as their precocious daughter. Vicki Cummings, as usual, is amusing as a gaudy lady with a heart of gold. All lesser roles have been intrusted to competent hands.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

THE STOOGE. Something new has been added in this latest Martin and Lewis comedy, with very pleasant results for the *family.* Instead of the usual succession of gags, there is a real attempt to give the proceedings the more substantial and satisfying tears-under-laughter quality. To accomplish this the script-writers have converted Jerry Lewis into the reluctant hero of the piece and at the same time have turned Dean Martin, for most of the picture's duration, into a thoroughgoing heel.

Martin plays a vaudeville performer who does a "single" with the assistance of a stooge. The stooge, who falls into the act as if by accident from a side box, is, naturally enough, Jerry Lewis. Even though it is evident to almost everyone that the success of the act rests largely on the inspired clowning of the stooge, Martin, nursing a magnificent case of swelled head, steadfastly refuses to give him either personal or professional credit, while Lewis equally steadfastly refuses to think ill of his employer.

The artless simplicity of this story (climaxed by Martin's moment of truth and an all-round happy ending) hardly makes for realistic screen fare. It does, however, permit Lewis, in between paroxysms of zaniness, to deliver a very appealing characterization with a Chaplinesque quality. It also makes for comedy which is rooted in fundamental human values rather than in a series of desperately contrived situations. *(Paramount)*

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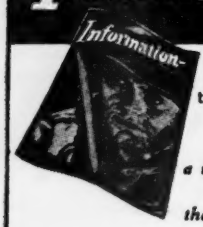
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THE CLOWN is a quite disastrous attempt to achieve the same blend of pathos and comedy as a vehicle for Red Skelton. The picture is a remake of *The Champ*, which starred Wallace Beery and Jackie Cooper and gave audiences a wonderful, tear-soaked time twenty years ago. Now, instead of being an alcoholic, has-been prize-fighter, the hero is an alcoholic, has-been comedian.

The rest of the formula is the same. He is still being wet-nursed by an adoring, tragically precocious young son (Tim Considine), making periodic efforts to swear off booze and start a comeback, deliberately alienating his child in the hope that the boy will find a more normal life with his happily remarried mother, and finally dying spectacularly on the night of his triumphant television debut.

Like most comics, Skelton proves to be a competent dramatic actor. Master Considine is an appealing youngster and Jane Greer is attractive in the contradictorily drawn role of the ex-wife. The picture itself, however, is a monument to the oft-demonstrated axiom that one generation's beloved tear-jerker is maudlin hokum to the next. *(MGM)*

THE STAR is a tailor-made vehicle for Bette Davis' high-powered style of acting and turns out to be a sort of bargain-basement *Sunset Boulevard.* Miss Davis' part is that of an aging and fading film star of the species that devote their driving energy and egocentricity to living their twenty-four-hours-a-day role of glamorous movie queen to such an extent that they lose all grasp of reality.

The part is valid and so is the Hollywood background. At times during the picture—for example, when the heroine is attempting to twist a screen test for a character part into a demonstration of her fitness for the ingenue lead—the tragedy of the woman's twisted values is painfully real. Unfortunately the film's exposé of false values is hung on a story line which itself reeks of soap-opera, complete with an utterly implausible happy ending, and which for the most part effectively cancels out any pungency or significance the picture might have had. *(20th Century-Fox)*

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MOIRA WALSH

LETTERS

Bouquets

EDITOR: As usual, your cover page for the Christmas number was in the grand manner. My compliments to the designer and the printer.

LaGrange, Ill. C. V. HIGGINS

EDITOR: May I extend my appreciation for the fine editorial in your Nov. 22 issue on the Cana Conference movement.

The many priests from the Archdiocese of Newark who are vitally interested in the progress of Cana are most grateful for your cooperation, which has been evident on many occasions. (REV.) HARRY C. SHERER
Chairman, Cana Committee

Newark, N. J.

Alert Ensign

EDITOR: In your Current Comment for Jan. 3, "Canada for prodding Bulgaria" (p. 365), you say that "the initiative of the Canadian delegation [in protesting the anti-religious trials there] followed vigorous popular protests at home."

Do you know who really started the ball rolling? A Canadian Catholic newspaper, the *Ensign*, after finding out that our Government wasn't going to do anything about the persecution of Bishop Bossilkov, because no one had protested, started a campaign of protest to stir up public opinion. It was only then that letters began pouring in to the Government vigorously protesting—when people realized what was going on. Had it not been for that paper's courageous stand, the persecution of Bishop Bossilkov and his fellow priests would probably have gone unnoticed.

I may add that I enjoy your publication very much and find it most informative. H. CONNOLY

Montreal, P. Q.

Apostolate of the waiting room

EDITOR: In Carmel, Calif., a committee of three women has organized a plan to place back numbers of AMERICA and other Catholic periodicals in hotel lobbies, doctors' offices, barber shops, beauty parlors, etc. Three outdoor racks make copies available to passersby on the street.

Magazines are donated by members of the parish. Each worker has assigned locations, where she changes the magazines once a month.

This constructive work might well be imitated elsewhere. P. M. D.

San Francisco, Calif.

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